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AUTHOR Heller, Craig
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ABSTRACT

Thirty-seven sources, published from 1970 to 1979, which study male attitudes toward the changing role of women are documented. The findings are presented in nine sections which cover male socialization, the traditional male sex role, psychological conflicts, modern technology and the male sex role, male liberation, men in new professional roles, men in new family roles, male response to women's new roles, and public policy and men. The literature reveals that men have contradictory and ambivalent feelings toward women's new roles. They reflect a low opinion of housewives, yet a preference for their own wives to be home with the children. Also, men express boredom with women who are not intellectually stimulating, yet anxiety toward women more knowledgeable on a specific subject. Positive effects of the women's movement include single adoptive fathers, male involvement in childbirth, parenting courses, and family planning clinics. Negative effects include a refusal to recognize female achievement and a hostile power struggle to prevent women from gaining further. A major conclusion is that legal issues will have an impact on influencing sex roles in the future. A bibliography of works consulted is included. (Author/KC)

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"Masculine Effects of Women's New Role in White Middle Class America From 1970-1979."

by

Craig Heller

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Fifth International Symposium on Sex Education
Tel Aviv, Israel — June 24—28, 1979

Masculine Effects of Women's New Role in White Middle -Class America from 1970 to 1979. By Craig Heller
Teacher's College; Columbia University; U.S.A.

OBJECTIVE: To study how men have been affected by the changing role of women. Mens behavioral and emotional reactions are documented.

METHOD: Data gathered from 37 sources studying male attitudes toward women's new roles. Direct quotations from men are presented to present the male viewpoint.

RESULTS: Men were found to have contradictory and ambivalent feelings toward women's new roles. (a) A low opinion of housewives, yet a preference for own wives to be home with the children. (b) Boredom with women who are not intellectually stimulating, yet defensiveness and anxiety if a woman is more knowledgeable on a particular subject. Male consciousness raising groups were a response to the women's movement The need to express emotions more openly with both men and women was discussed in male liberation meetings. Ways in which womens liberation benefits men is elaborated in detail. Difficulties men have in feminine professions such as nursing and child care work is discussed. Men in new family roles such as homemakers including role sharing in marriage is evaluated in light of male experiences. Options for fathering such as single adoptive fathers; males who select part-time jobs in order to spend more time at home; and male involvement in childbirth; parenting courses; and family planning clinics, are signs that women's new roles have affected men in positive ways. A negative reaction to female achievement has been fear among some men that they will not have an outlet to express their emotions. The result has been a refusal to recognize female achievement or a hostile power struggle to prevent women from gaining further.

CONCLUSIONS: Legal issues will have a significant impact on influencing sex roles in the future. The definition of masculinity is influenced largely by television. Any attempt through government family policy to minimize differences in roles of men and women will require individual adjustments for both sexes.

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INTRODUCTION

Considering that the majority of research on sex roles in the past has been directed toward women, an interesting question to ask is--how have men been affected by the changing role of women? The focus of this paper will be to examine in what ways the literature reflects men's reactions to the women's movement. In order to better understand the rationale for male reactions, in the 1970's, it is necessary first to examine the traditional male sex role and child rearing patterns which influence boys in learning to become men.

MALE SOCIALIZATION

Male Role Models. During the early years of a boy's learning experiences, the majority of his role models are female. This would not present a problem if adults did not expect different behaviors from boys than they do from girls. However, since boys are taught to avoid "feminine" behaviors such as crying, playing house, playing with dolls, wearing pink clothing, etc., it seems inappropriate that boys are supervised by women for considerably more hours than they are by men. How can boys learn to be "masculine" when their daytime adult role models-day care center supervisors, teachers, babysitters and their supervising parent, are predominantly female?

Masculinity Defined By Boys. One approach to gathering data on how males perceive their sex role is to interview young boys. In a study by Hartley,[1] boys ranging in age from 8 to 11 were interviewed to find out what they thought was required in order to be masculine. The results were as follows: fighting; playing rough games; being athletic; making a fire; taking care of yourself; and being smart.

[1] Ruth Hartley, "Sex Role Pressures and Socialization of the Male Child," Psychological Reports, 5 (1959): 457-68.

In response to the question of what parents expect of boys compared to girls, the boys reported that they were expected to be noisy; get dirty; mess up the house; be outside more; not be softies; to get into trouble often; and not to be behind. They also indicated that as men they needed to be strong; make decisions; protect women and children especially in emergencies; have physical strength; do rough and dirty work; repair things; earn money to support the family; and teach moral values to their children. Boys reported the differences between men and women in the following way: Men are the boss; they work harder; get mad more; have more courage; are more important; have better ideas than women; are more fun; do whatever they want; and have the right to the most comfortable chair. This study clearly shows that by the age of 8, boys have a very good understanding of what is expected of them. However, to learn such rigid sex roles with very little contact with male role models during the preschool and early elementary years certainly presents a problem for boys. Most probably, the male sex role is learned by trial and error. Perhaps older brothers and boys in higher grades serve as models to emulate. The dilemma is stated very clearly by Hartley: "Boys learn what they must not be before they gain knowledge of what it is they are supposed to be. The consequences of this process can be painful and long lasting, often leading to a life-long aversion to any quality thought to be 'feminine' and a constant striving for the ways in which to be 'masculine'."[2]

Expressing Anger Toward Girls. Traditionally, boys are taught from an early age not to compete against girls.

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[2] Ibid., p. 465

Since boys are considered superior to girls in sports and athletic events, it is considered taking advantage of a girl if a boy chooses a female opponent in a game which requires physical strength or skill. Boys are taught not to fight with their sisters--fighting with a brother is generally more acceptable to parents. Boys are expected to protect their sisters from harm. They are often labeled bullies if they fight with a girl, regardless of how evenly matched the two persons may be. As boys become older, activities which involve physical contact with girls also arouse anxiety among boys due to sexual attraction. The possibility of touching the breast, genital area, or buttocks during the activity is an inhibiting factor which prevents boys from feeling comfortable in coed sports such as tackle or touch football. The social stigma associated with losing a game against a girl serves as a negative factor which further discourages boys from including girls in competitive events. Since the boy is expected to win, he has nothing to gain by defeating her, but risks the loss of pride and ridicule from his peers if he loses.

The negative effects of society not allowing men to view women as legitimate competitors can be seen when men find themselves working under the supervision of a woman. In a study by Gould of male attitudes toward women in authority, female bosses were consistently rated neutral compared to how women rated males in authority.[3] Gould explains this in terms of an awkward dilemma men experience as a result of not being able to identify with women in authority, (i.e., be like them), or be able to fight against them, (i.e., try to aggressively compete against them).

[3]Laurence Gould, "Attitudes Toward Women In Authority," [illegible] & Power Relationships (New York: Radcliff

TRADITIONAL MALE SEX ROLE

Inexpressiveness in Men. Inexpressiveness appears to be a characteristic associated with the traditional male sex role. Boys are taught from an early age that expressiveness is not compatible with masculinity. Balswick and Peek suggest that inexpressiveness is a "culturally produced temperament trait" which is taught to children and reinforced by parents, teachers, and other significant influences.[4] A typical parental response to a boy who expresses his emotions through crying is "You're a big boy and big boys don't cry." The authors describe the difference between two types of inexpressive males-the cowboy and playboy type. John Wayne symbolized the cowboy type by being strong, silent, and withdrawing his emotions. This type of man has feelings toward women but does not express them. The subtle message here is that a "real man" does not express feelings. The cowboy male relates to women by placing them on a pedestal. Of course, by doing so, he insults them. The cowboy male prides hemself by taking care of women and protecting them from harm. The playboy type of male is symbolized by James Bond. This male is detached emotionally in his relations with women. Bond rejects women as persons and relates to them as sex objects. He is skillful in manipulating women and uses them for sex. The playboy male has no feelings, while the cowboy male has feelings but inhibits them.

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[4]Jack Balswick and Charles Peek, "The Inexpressive Male: A Tragedy of American Society," The Family Coordinator, (1971):363-68.

Brenton describes the difference between the traditional male and female sex role in the following way: He states-"The man is the instrumental or task leader, the breadwinner, the authority figure, the one who gets things done, the parent who offers conditional love. The woman is the emotional or expressive-integrative leader, the one who keeps house and raises the children, the one solely responsible for binding the family's psychic wounds, the parent who offers unconditional love."[5] Brenton points out that rigid, clearly defined sex roles are not functional in today's modern society. For example, in the suburbs, women must often cope with a crisis without the help of their husbands since men are more likely to be at work than at home when help is needed.

What kind of a man is likely to experiment with engaging in activities which have not been considered masculine by society? The literature consistently indicates that such a person must be secure in his feelings of "manliness". Having a positive self appraisal of ones "manliness" also seems to have a relaxing effect in relating to women. One woman stated her feelings this way--"If his manhood is secure, then there is nothing the destructive part of me can destroy or hurt, so I can relax and enjoy being a complete woman, revel in my femaleness and enjoy his complete maleness. The secure man can wash a dish, diaper a baby, and throw the dirty clothes into the washing machine--or do anything else women used to do exclusively--without thinking twice about it."[6]

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[5]Myron Brenton, The American Male (New York: Coward-McCann,Inc., 1966) p. 208.

[6]Ibid., p. 211.

This suggests that masculinity depends more on the inner feelings of the man rather than on measuring to what extent the person conforms to rigid stereotypes which have traditionally defined masculinity. Brenton disagrees with the notion that role flexibility will result in the elimination of sex role differentiation. He states--"My impression is that the more the roles are blurred, the more the superficial functional differences are eliminated, actually the more essential sexual differentiation occurs. In other words, your more truly masculine and feminine attributes emerge."[7] Brenton also indicates that being able to act out and experience the roles of the opposite sex will enhance communication between the sexes and allow each sex to be more friendly toward each other.

A Male View of Sex. For many men, sex is a goal oriented experience. Time demands of pressing careers inhibit and prevent men from approaching lovemaking leisurely or with patience. Sex is a way for men to release tension and the emphasis is more on the outcome of the experience than the process. Slater describes this thought as follows:

> Leisurely pleasure seeking is brushed aside, as all acts and all thoughts are directed toward the creation of a "successful" finale. The better (i.e., the bigger) the climax, the more enjoyable the whole encounter is retrospectively defined as having been. This ensures against too much pleasure obtained in the here and now since one is always concentrating on the future goal. In such a system you can only find out how much you're enjoying yourself after it's all over.[8]

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[7] Ibid., p. 212

[8] Philip Slater, Footholds (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1977) p. 7.

As women have become more sexually liberated, and interested in achieving orgasm, they also may fall into the pattern of responding to sex in a goal oriented way, (i.e., sex is fulfilling only if orgasm is reached). Similarly, as women become more preoccupied with achievement and career development, their time demands will increase and this will possibly cause them to respond to sex in the hurried manner which men have. Naturally, this will affect their male partners.

PSYCHOLOGICAL CONFLICTS

Male Dilemmas. In a study of male seniors at Columbia University, Komarovsky documented strains in masculine roles. Role conflict is "the exposure of the actor to conflicting sets of legitimized role expectations such that complete fulfillment of both is realistically impossible"[9] Examples of inconsistencies of male attitudes are as follows: (a) Admiration of women who achieve upward mobility yet the fear of working for a woman. In response to the possibility of being supervised by a female, one male commented--"A woman should not be in a position of firing an employee. It is an unpleasant thing to do. Besides, it is unfair to the man who is to be fired. He may be a very poor employee, but he is still a human being and it may be just compounding his unhappiness to be fired by a woman."[10] Similarly, only 30 percent of the men in this study agreed that high school counselors should encourage females to train for occupations traditionally held by men. (b) A low opinion of housewives, yet a preference for their wives to be home with young children. (c) Boredom with women who

[9]Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951

[10]Mirra Komarovsky, Dilemmas of Masculinity (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), p. 36

are not intellectually stimulating, yet defensiveness and anxiety if a woman is more knowledgeable on a subject, particularly in the early stages of a relationship. Some men who felt this way expressed the following--"I enjoy talking to more intelligent girls, but I have no desire for a deep relationship with them. I guess I still believe that the man should be more intelligent." I may be a little frightened of a woman who is superior to me in some field of knowledge, but if a girl knows more than I do, I resent her."[11] One way of responding to a topic of conversation in which a male felt his date was more knowledgeable than he, was to change the subject.

On the other hand, some men expected to share an intellectual rapport with their dates rather than dominate. Comments by males who expressed this sentiment are as follows--"I wouldn't go out with any girl who wasn't sharp and perceptive enough to catch an intellectual subtlety." What I love about this girl is that she is on my level, that I can never speak over her head."[12] Apparently the traditional concept of male intellectual superiority conflicts with the new ideal of male/female intellectual companionship. Some males had mixed feelings about the issue, and could not express a preference for male intellecutal superiority or merely companionship.

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[11]Mirra Komarovsky, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles: The Masculine Case." Family In Transition (Boston: Little Brown & Company, 1977), p. 230.

[12]Ibid., p. 233.

Contradictory Attitudes. Giving the impression of being more sexually experienced was a common way men adapted to a more experienced sexual partner. Men in this study were embarrassed to admit virginity. One student said he would"feel funny, less masculine, making love to a more experienced girl." Another stated-"Making love to someone more experienced frightens the hell out of me...I want to marry a virgin not because she's pure but because she's less experienced than I. If she is more experienced, then she should pretend not to be."[13] Expectations that women desire sex was also a problem for inexperienced males. Intense jealousy was a standard reaction in reference to any discussion of a girlfriends past lovers. One student stated--"I tell girls quick enough that I don't want to know any details of their former lovers."[14] Intellectual acceptance of a single standard for premarital sex, but emotional rejection of it was another contradiction. The more meaningful the relationship, (i.e., mother, sister, or future spouse, the greater acceptance of the double standard.) In this area there was greater tolerance of infidelity by men as well as for having sex without affection. Although a positive reaction was expressed for women who were able to assert themselves under appropriate circumstances, there was significant intolerance for women who initiated sexual advances in the beginning of a relationship.

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[13]Komarovsky, op.cit., p. 78.

[14]Komarovsky, op.cit., p. 83.

The increased willingness of women to participate in sex caused anxiety among males who held moral or religious convictions against premarital sex. These students tended to isolate themselves from dating entirely or associated with partners who shared a similar traditional outlook. However, virgins who desired sexual activity, but were unsuccessful in achieving experience, tended to have low self esteem and confidence as a result of deviating from the accepted norms of their peer group. One student stated--" With all the talk about free sex on this campus, if you don't have any experience the guys feel there is something wrong with you."[15] Another male stated--"I am not proud of my virginity. The question of sex is really a very serious problem for a sensitive person. It's bad because when a guy gets to college he is going to feel inadequate as a man if he doesn't have a certain amount of experience. He is going to be different from other guys and they all make such a to-do about it."[16] Apparently, peer pressure to become experienced in sex was very strong.

Power & Emotional Relationships with Women. Komarovsky defined the traditional male sex role as "superior to the female in aggressiveness, self-assurance, decisiveness, independence, and stability in the face of stress."[17] A dilemma of male students was that they understood the masculine role to require assertion of power, leadership, and dominance in their interpersonal relations with women, yet emotionally many did not feel comfortable relating this way.

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[15]Komarovsky, op. cit., p. 96.

[16]Komarovsky, op. cit., p. 108

[17]Komarovsky, op. cit., p. 127

One adaptation to this strain was to seek female companions who were quite passive and did not threaten their fragile masculine self concept. The problem of not being able to live up to the masculine ideal of leadership also had negative effects on other social relationships, including on the males capacity to study."[18] One solution to this problem is to redefine masculinity so that egalitarian interaction with women in which power, leadership, and dominance can be shared by both partners to meet the needs of the individuals involved.

MODERN TECHNOLOGY & THE MALE SEX ROLE

Technological Advances. The increasing role of modern technology has contributed to a departure from men proudly defending the nation. For example, modern technology has lessened the need for combat to occur in direct person to person confrontation. Warfare is less personal as can be seen by the dropping of bombs which require a sophisticated understanding of modern electronic equipment rather than a high degree of courage or the ability to endure pain.[19] Combat during warfare is not as respected as it was during World War I and II, when males who died during battle were idolized as national heroes. Today, there is apathy toward sacrificing for the country. Men do not view the military service as their obligation, as they did when the draft was in effect. Serving in the military is voluntary today. Some men oppose participating in war for moral and ethical reasons.

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[18] Komarovsky, op. cit., p. 156.

[19] Nelson Foote, "Changing Concepts of Masculinity and Femininity," Ed. by C.B. Broderick. The Individual, Sex, and Society. (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1969), p. 143.

For example, the large number of conscientious objectors who resisted the draft during the Viet Nam War in the 1960's serves as evidence that at least some men do not wish to express themselves through fighting, despite social stigma associated with appearing as cowards. The threat of nuclear war and its ability to destroy the world serves to legitimize fear associated with war in today's world. One situation in which men frequently express strong emotions is crying on the battlefield, where they are exposed to the destruction of human life under violent and inhumane conditions.

Moving from the front line to the political arena, efforts to achieve peace through international diplomacy, negotiating for peace conferences, and even public demonstrations of affection, such as hugs between leaders of nations, as was seen when President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin attempted to achieve peace in the Middle East, are examples of the tremendous fear associated with warfare today. The possibility of violence and physical aggression between nations has much more devastating implications today than it did when the only weapons available for fighting were bows and arrows! And the technological advances which are readily available for warfare today serve to minimize the importance which fighting plays in proving masculinity.

Decline in Sex Role Differentiation. Modern technology has also contributed to a breakdown in sex role differentiation. Women are now legally eligible to join the military. Thus, the military is no longer exclusively an arena for men to prove their masculinity.

Professional sports today which require physical aggression such as football and boxing can be viewed as a way of males to continue to define their roles as being rough and tough men. Physical strength is not instrumental to surviving in modern America as it was during the colonial era when the early settlers relied on fishing, trapping, and hunting for survival. Considering this, perhaps one function of professional sports today, is to provide a socially acceptable way to continue the highly valued differential sex roles which many persons still cherish today. The world wide attention given to the heavy weight boxing championship fight and the super bowl, in which millions of males are glued to the television, gives support to the argument that physical aggression is still a highly valued measure of masculinity. If the male viewers of these sports did not identify vicariously with the winners of these events, it is doubtful they would obtain as much satisfaction from watching. Foote concurs with the view that physical strength is no longer necessary in today's society. "Aggressiveness tends to be more and more out of place in contemporary America; the ability to get along congenially with other people is what is necessary for economic survival.[20] One could argue then, that if physical strength is no longer necessary for survival in modern society, a division of labor based on sex, serves no practical function. Brenton believes the solution to social problems requires our society to overcome stereotyped ideas about masculinity and femininity.

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[20]Ibid., p. 143.

> Both men and women have an enormous range of possibilities within themselves for good and ill. If the aim is to eliminate war, abate crime, and foster a more humanitarian and cooperative society, it cannot be accomplished on the basis of sex-differentiated roles or attitudes. Responsibility for such choice is individual, not sexual. Humanistic values have no sex. The idealization of women notwithstanding; they're simply human.[21]

MALE LIBERATION

Consciousness Raising Groups. One response to the changing role of women has been a reassessment of the traditional male sex role. To facilitate this process, some men have joined consciousness raising groups in order to gain support from other men for changing. Sawyer describes male liberation as a movement "to free man of the sex-role stereotypes that limit their ability to be human."[22] One of the common problems men face is a feeling of frustration and insecurity as a result of not being satisfied with their level of career achievement. The constant struggle to advance through promotions to more important and higher salaried positions often interferes with a mans ability to form warm and meaningful friendships with his co-workers. How can one trust the person he is competing against? Even when significant upward mobility is achieved, tension does not cease. Once on top, the challenge is to remain. And the thought of stepping down to a lower position is quite threatening to most males. Power, dominance, and control over others are important variables which measure a mans self worth in the work world. However, how many publications, salesman of

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[21] Brenton, op. cit., p. 227.

[22] Jack Sawyer, "On Male Liberation," Liberation, 15 (1970): 32-3.

the year awards, or promotions are enough to enable a person to feel "manly"? How high on the corporation ladder must one climb in order to be successful? And once on top, how long must one remain in control? In every case, the person on top eventually concedes to someone who is quicker, smarter, stronger, or more efficient. Nobody escapes defeat; eventually everyone must move on. Ironically, most men never achieve positions of dominance to begin with. This means that the majority of men who accept the traditional male sex role as valid cannot help but feel inadequate since they compare themselves to others who are more successful. "It is in the eyes of other men that we are judged to be a success or failure."[23]

Expressing Emotions. Helping each other to express emotions has been another function of male groups. Discussing the acceptable but limiting ways in which men are expected to express affection to other men such as handshaking; an arm around the shoulder; or a pat on the back, help men to realize that other males also feel confined, but have mixed feelings about changing due to peer pressure and the fear of being misunderstood by society. (Undoubtedly, if 2 males hugged or danced with each other in public they would probably be viewed as homosexuals.) The difficulty men have in expressing emotions can be best understood by examining some of their comments stated during male rap sessions. Consider the following:

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[23]Joseph Pleck, Men and Masculinity, (Englewood Cliffs: New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1974), p. 74-75.

> There is so much inside me that has been repressed and bottled up for so long due to my trying to be "masculine". Inability to cry or show my emotions very strongly, feeling that I am somehow better off if I stay cool and aloof, feeling inferior if I am not loud and aggressive, and very self-assertive in public. Being expected not to relate well to children, to be always"dignified" and never to play or be uninhibited. To be cool, uninvolved, in control of certain people; and a firm believer in the system of leaders and followers, dominance and submission, male masters and female slaves.[24]

Developing a Male Movement. One of the problems of men's groups is "making the transition from the motivating energy of our reactions to the women's movement to the sustaining energy of building a growing understanding of men's liberation."[25] The Berkeley Men's Center attempted to overcome the tendency to limit rap sessions to discussions of how to respond to feminists who attack men. Instead it articulated a new philosophy of masculinity with broader options for expressing "maleness". The Berkeley Men's Center Manifesto is as follows:

> We as men, want to take back our full humanity. We want to love ourselves. We want to express our feelings completely and not bottle them up or repress them in order to be respected. We believe it requires strength to let go and be weak. We want to enjoy masturbating without feeling guilty or that masturbation is a poor substitute for interpersonal sex. We want to relate to both women and men in more human ways- with warmth, sensitivity, emotion and honesty. We are oppressed by this dependence on women for support, nurturing, love, and warm feelings. We want to love, nurture, and support ourselves and other men as well as women. We want to affirm our strength as men and at the same time encourage other feminine aspects of life. We want men to share their lives and experiences with each other in order to understand who we are, how we got this way, and what we must do to be free.[26]

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[24]Jeff Keith,"My Own Men's Liberation," WIN Magazine,(1971):22-6.

[25]Michael Weiss, "Unlearning," The Village Voice, (1972), p, 166.

[26]Berkeley Men's Center Manifesto,"(1973), p. 173.

Relationship of Women's Liberation to Men's Liberation.

Farrell describes the following benefits which can be gained in marriage when both men and women are flexible in expressing their sex roles;[27] (a) Sharing in the financial support of the family frees the male from pressure to remain in a job he does not enjoy. (b) Less emphasis on job mobility for males will enable men to live a more well balanced lifestyle which may include developing hobbies; joining clubs; volunteering time to civic and community affairs; or having more leisure time to devote to family or self. (c) The man will have an opportunity to develop a closer relationship with his children through participating more actively in the daily responsibilities of child care. (d) Additional income gained through 2 persons working will provide new freedoms for the family. (e) The broadening of sex role definitions is likely to result in each partner doing household chores which they enjoy more since there will be greater flexibility for choosing ones preference without worrying about what is "masculine" or "feminine". (f) Men will feel less responsible to ensure that their spouse is happy. With increased independence, women are likely to take the initiative to engage in experiences outside of the home which they find fulfilling. Perhaps spending some time separately, will provide an element of privacy and independence which may help to improve the quality of the marital relationship.

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[27]Warren Farrell, The Liberated Man. (New York: Bantam Books, 1974), p. 162-77.

MEN IN NEW PROFESSIONAL ROLES

In response to women who have succeeded in obtaining jobs which traditionally employed only men, males are now entering jobs which, conversely, were once female dominated. Secretaries; typists; receptionists; nurses; telephone operators; and nursery school teachers are a few examples of positions that are now open to men. However, working in these positions presents certain problems to men.

Male Child Care Workers. To gain employment in a nursery school or day care center, men must learn to like what they have been taught are feminine activities such as cooking, hugging, and diapering babies. In addition to relearning attitudes and behaviors which they have been conditioned to avoid during their early years of socialization, male child care workers must be prepared for reactions of surprise, disbelief, and mistrust from children and female co-workers. Seifert notes that female co-workers are likely to doubt men's"initiative, courage, or intelligence."[28] To overcome such resistance, a male child care worker must be highly motivated to succeed.

Male Nurses. Male nurses have also experienced problems in adjusting. A major concern of male nurses is the low status society holds for the nursing profession compared with careers in business, politics, science, and technology.

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[28]Kelvin Seifert, "Some Problems of Men in Child Care Center Work" Child Welfare, 102, #3, (1973): p. 167-71.

For example, sixty percent of male compared to only twenty percent of female nurses thought the public did not give nurses sufficient prestige.[29] This reflects pressure men feel to develop a career which will be highly respected by others, as opposed to merely earning a living. As was the case with child care workers, male nurses also encountered negative reactions from co-workers concerning their motives for becoming nurses. For example, thirty-five percent of the female nurses viewed male nurses to be either effeminate or homosexual.[30] Another problem of male nurses resulted from the need to compete against female co-workers for promotions, yet adhering to the culturally sanctioned notion that defeating a woman is not a commendable achievement.

MEN IN NEW FAMILY ROLES

Role Reversal. One reaction to the women's movement has been to exchange roles by the woman shifting to breadwinner and the man assuming responsibility for household chores and child care. A factor couples might consider in deciding whether to reverse roles is who will earn more? With women entering higher paying professions in business, law, medicine, etc., from an economic perspective, this arrangement may be more practical, particularly if the man has chosen a relatively low paying career such as teaching or social work.

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[29]Bernard Segal, "Male Nurses: A Case Study In Status Contradiction And Prestige Loss." Social Forces, (1972), p. 31-8.

[30]Ibid., p. 37.

In changing from breadwinner to househusband, fathers reported an increased ability to comprehend and respond to their children's needs. Such evidence appears to refute the widely accepted cultural notion that mothers are innately more intuitive of children's feelings, desires, and needs than are fathers. Levine states--"Responsiveness to children is a function of perceived responsibility, of identifying oneself as the person entrusted primarily with the child's well being.[31] One househusband reported his feelings this way--"I guess there's a corner of your mind that just gets used to the children. You make your brain a receiver of signals. You modulate the volume during the day, but you never turn the set off."[32] The males in this study who were best able to adjust to role reversal were most likely very secure persons. This is not surprising considering the pressure to conform to the traditional male sex role which our culture still strongly reinforces. Society does not yet offer men, as it does women, the option of choosing career or family, though attitudes are slowly changing.

Role Sharing. Another reaction to women's lib, perhaps more common than role reversal, has been an increased willingness of husbands to share in household tasks such as cooking, shopping, cleaning, and child care. Historically, husbands have assisted their wives in the home only under extraordinary circumstances such as illness, absence of the wife, or arrival of a baby.

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[31]James Levine, Who Will Raise the Children? (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1976), p. 148.

[32]Ibid., p. 142.

Wiegand, (1952), found that less than fifty percent of housewives interviewed received help with household chores on a steady basis.[33] Thus, the idea of role sharing in marriage is a relatively new concept. Seely found that persons who experimented with role sharing were independent, sensitive, flexible, secure, empathetic, and communicative.[34] Couples in this study were also highly motivated to rear their children differently from how they were raised. In one couple, the wife experienced guilt as a result of watching her husband assume roles which she had been socialized to believe were her responsibility. Perhaps some psychological discomfort is necessary in order to effect positive social change. One advantage of the role sharing arrangement was that it served to motivate children to help with household chores; (i.e., when the children saw both parents sharing housework, they also helped). Couples in this study did not attempt to conceal the males new role; nor did they believe his masculine image with peers had suffered. One couple expressed their feelings about role sharing quite vividly:

> Husband:... I would do a great deal of reading with the children which is something Anne didn't enjoy. It's incredible to me that someone could spend a lifetime doing nothing but talking to small children. And it's not good for the children. Anne finds she is a much better mother if she can get away...the children relate to her better. And I find the same thing.[35]
>
> Wife: When I'm home with them all of the time, we drive each other crazy...If somebody else takes over, it gives me an opportunity to appreciate my children and not to descent to the level of a lot of the other mothers that I see...which is a lot of screaming and tension between mother and children. I think if we are having a family together and living together, that Michael has to do the dirty work as much as I do.[36]

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[33]Creighton Seely, Male Homemakers and Female Breadwinners: A Study of Role Sharing In Seven Marriages: (New York: Teachers College ED.D. Report., 1974), p. 57.

[34]Ibid., p. 34, 49, 223./[35]Ibid., p. 33/[36]Ibid., p. 34-5.

Brenton notes that role sharing families experienced greater emotional satisfaction in their marriages than did families with rigid role differentiation. However, he cautioned that role sharing does not require adherence to a strict fifty-fifty kind of relationship. "True equality entails a shifting, fluid, dynamic kind of interaction, in which leadership changes from one partner to the other depending on their specific interests and areas of competence and on the specific contributions they're able to make in any given situation."[37] Marriages which include role sharing as a mutually agreed upon arrangement are less likely to experience what Bernard refers to as "the two marriages-his and hers."[38] The challenge of experimenting with an alternative structure for improved personal fulfillment in marriage which conflicts with the social norm, resulted in a feeling of exhilaration for many couples. Apparently, men and women have much greater potential for role flexibility than society encourages.[39] Levine concurs and stresses the bendfits to couples who share roles--"It's as if they have a sense of their own becoming; and although they are not clear where they are going, they have a sense of where they've been, of the extent to which they've been able to break away from stereotypes that had a powerful, if unconscious, hold on their way of doing things."[40] Perhaps one difficulty in role sharing is that most persons experimenting with this arrangement have not had parental role models who have set an example of how role sharing in marriage should work. Therefore, couples who choose this pattern of marital interaction must learn by trial and error.

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[37]Myron Brenton, The American Male (New York: Coward-McCann, 1966), p. 215.

[38]Jessie Bernard, The Future of Marriage, (New York: Bantam, 1973), p. 151.

[39]Ibid., p. 151/ [40]Levine, op. cit., p. 148.

Options For Fathers. Working part time is an alternative for fathers who desire to spend more time with their children during the child's early years of development. "You put burdens on maintaining the quality the more the time is decreased. The reason you can't be intimate...is that you're not present long enough for the interaction and trust to develop; with a small child it's especially important that he knows there's a continuing source there."[41] One barrier to overcome in developing this lifestyle is economic. Another problem involves finding a part time job in a society which does not encourage partial employment. In response to not hiring a prospective employee because the applicant would not accept full time work, an assistant personnel director commented-"His qualifications were fine; they just couldn't feel comfortable with a man who wanted part time work."[42] One father, quite discouraged with his prospects of obtaining part time work, expressed the following comment-"There's a stigma attached to a man who wants part time work. It means he is not masculine, not aggressive."[43] An alternative to the traditional sex role pattern, role reversal, and dual career marriage is part time jobs for both husband and wife. In this arrangement, each participates fully in economic and child care responsibilities of parenthood.

In addition to men altering their work pattern in order to do a better job at fathering, another option is to voluntarily choose fatherhood before marriage by becoming an adoptive single parent.

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[41] Ibid., p. 71

[42] Ibid., p. 68

[43] Ibid., p. 68

In some cases, a man may be ready for fatherhood before he has met the right mate. For still other men, there may be an emotional need to nurture children but no desire for marriage. Levine states--

> There usually comes a point-usually when they are in their mid-thirties and well established in their careers when these men find that something is missing. The need to participate in the continuous growth of another individual on an intimate daily basis is not fulfilled. The satisfaction they get from working with children as teachers or therapists or Big Brothers is not enough. It lacks continuity. The children are, after all, other people's children.[44]

One adoptive father explained his feelings this way--"I guess it becomes a matter of who needs me? Of what importance is my existence? Most of us single adoptive parents need somebody to need us."[45] The motives of single adoptive males were questioned by officials of adoption agencies as was the case of male nurses and child care workers. The most common stereotype associated with single adoptive males was the suspicion of homosexuality. Despite resistance from society, Arlene Nash, director of the Adoption Resource Exchange of North America notes that that single adoptive fathers serve a unique function in providing homes for hard to place children who are severely possessive and therefore would not function well in a 2 parent family.[46]

During the past decade there has been an increase in the amount of attention given to the fathers role in shaping the values, personality, and attitudes of children.

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[44] Ibid., p. 109.
[45] Ibid., p. 109.
[46] Ibid., p. 122.

A course entitled fatherhood is now offerred at the University of Akron. The response to this class has been quite favorable. Since then, classes for fathers have been developed in other parts of the United States. Similarly, popular books are now available for fathers to describe theirunique role in childrearing. (How to Father, by Fitzhugh Dodson; Bachelor Fatherhood, by Michael McFadden; and What's a Father For, by Sara Gilbert.) In addition to taking classes and reading about parenting, being physically present in the delivery room during childbirth is another way that men now participate more fully in their roles as fathers.

Men In Family Planning Clinics. Today, there is greater willingness among men to assume responsibility for family planning. This is one of the positive outcomes of an outreach approach used by family planning clinics to motivate men to attend planned parenthood's medical and educational programs on reproductive health care.[47] These clinics are designed specifically for men. Male clinics include a reproductive examination by a urologist; venereal disease screening; vasectomy counseling; education about male sexual health; and a discussion of male and female methods of birth control. As a result of the male clinics, family planning personnel report that more males are attending clinics with their partners than previously.[48] Thus, obtaining protection from unwanted pregnancy is beginning to be viewed more of a couples responsibility than a "woman's problem". Old approaches such as a poster which portrayed a pregnant male with the caption- "Bet you'd be more careful if you got pregnant", are being replaced with new strategies.

[47] Bernie Zilbergeld, "The Psychology of Male Non Involvement," The Family Planner, 8 (1977): 10.

[48] Ibid., p. 10

The poster caused men to feel guilty but did not show them how to participate in a helpful way. To more effectively involve men in the family planning effort, many clinics now employ men as receptionists, clinic aides, and health educators. These males serve valuable role models for men. They also reinforce the philosophy that men need to know about birth control as well as women.

MALE RESPONSES TO WOMEN'S NEW ROLES

Emotional and Psychological Reactions. In addition to behavioral changes in men such as entering female dominated professions like nursing, child care, and sharing or reversing roles with their spouses, less obvious, but perhaps equally important are the emotional and psychological reactions of men to women's new role in the United States. Tresemer suggests that one explanation for male resistance to women's new role is fear that women will no longer provide an outlet for the expression of the man's feelings.[49] He suggests that men will either stereotype women or resist with hostility, when exposed to their competence. Stereotypers try to convince themselves that female achievement does not exist. "Since female achievement does not fit easily into their system, they inattend to it, have a high threshold for perceiving it, and easily forget it once they have noticed it."[50] Hostile resisters, on the other hand, believe that women threaten their positions of power and influence at home and in the work place.

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[49]David Tresemer and Joseph Pleck, "Sex Role Boundaries and Resistance to Sex-Role Change." Women's Studies, 2: 61-78, 1974.

[50]Ibid., p. 74

They believe that women desire superiority rather than equality. Males who react with hostility fear being dominated and manipulated by women, so they engage in a power struggle for defense and protection. In a study of 91 dating couples, Pleck found that males who scored high in male threat to female competence, (MTFC), as a result of competing with their partners on a given task, were likely to improve their performance and tended to avoid future task interaction with their dates.[51] Apparently, observing women perform a task more skillfully is threatening to some males. One woman with insight into men's feelings expressed the following thought:

> We are asking men to be less powerful to us in relation to families and in society, and it hurts to lose power. People who are being asked to be more like the people who were in inferior roles. What we are asking men now is to learn the perceptions of the out-group. That is why I think it is so difficult to develop a strong male identity out of this.[52]

Perhaps one indication that many men are not yet ready to accept women's new role in society is the low male attendance at a conference entitled--"The Impact on Men of the Changing Role of Women." Although the focus of the conference was on men's roles, Dr. Fenchel, the keynote speaker,noted that the majority of participants were women. He also indicated that the women's movement has challenged the traditional concept of masculinity, and this has caused men anxiety as a result of not knowing how to act.[53]

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[51]Joseph Pleck,"Male Threat From Female Competence," Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 44: 608-13. 1976.

[52]Libby A. Cater, Women and Men: Changing Roles and Perceptions. (New York: Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, 1976). p. 53.

[53]Fenchel and Robert Gould, "The Impact on Men of the Changing Role of Women". Third Annual Scientific Conference. Washington Square Institute For Psychotherapy & Mental Health. (November, 1978: N.Y.

Pietropinto surveyed 4000 males to learn how men feel about womens liberation. Examples of positive responses:

> I think women today have become more independent which in many ways is good. Today's women are nicer and better than ever...They have definitely changed for the better due to better education and opportunity. They are more confident and willing to try different things. Women today are easier to communicate with, possibly because they are more assertive and more able to talk with a man at the same level..[54]

Negative Responses:

> Women today are too liberated. They should be more considerate of the man's needs...I think women have gotten too independent and want to work at jobs instead of staying home and taking care of the children. They are too preoccupied with taking care of No. 1 first. Much too loose morally, too 'I' oriented, and not concerned about other people.[55]

Twenty three percent of the men interviewed felt that women are too independent; Twenty two felt that women are better company than previously; and eleven percent felt that women expect too much from men.[56] Pleck[57] noted the following in a similar study: (a) Husbands often encouraged their wives to work yet continue to make traditional demands upon them in the home. (b) Men expressed more anxiety and felt more in competition with women in similar positions as they, than working for a female supervisor. However, male self-esteem and competency was a factor which influenced how males reacted to women in equal, subordinate, and superior positions. The greater the confidence, the less men were threatened.

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[54]Anthony Pietropinto, Beyond the Male Myth (New York: New American Library, 1977) p. 115-16.

[55]Ibid., p. 115-16.

[56]Ibid., p. 115-16.

(c) Some men reported greater incidences of impotence while others experienced an improved sex life. Both changes in sexual relations were attributed to the women's movement.

EFFECT OF PUBLIC POLICY ON MEN'S ROLES

How do federal and state laws which were drafted prior to the questioning of sex roles, affect the legal rights of men? Resolving the legal issues is important because public opinion is significantly influenced by what the courts decide. Hayman states- "Laws based on sex stereotypes help perpetuate limitations on both men and women...A change in judicial and legislative opinion does have an effect on individuals' opinions and social roles, which in turn affect legal opinion, and the process works in a full circle."[58] Examples of cases which have been presented before the courts in which the outcome will be influenced by an interpretation of sex roles are as follows: (a) Should widows but not widowers receive property tax exemption? (Kahn v. Shevin, 1974; Florida). (b) The equal rights ammendment which would eliminate the majority of classifications based on sex. (c) The existence of alimony laws that only benefit women. (d) The assumption that women tend to be more nurturing and therefore are better qualified to raise children. Acceptance of this notion results in few opportunities for males to retain custody of the children in cases of divorce.

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[58] Andrea S. Hayman, "Legal Challenges to Discrimination Against Men." Edited by Deborah S. David & Robert Brannon, The Forty-Nine Percent Majority: The Male Sex Role.

However, Hayman notes the following exception:

> In one case a court indicated that custody should be awarded to the parent who best fulfills the mothering function. The court found that the father was more nurturant, and awarded him custody as well as child support payments from the mother.[59]

(e) Rights of the unwed father concerning his consent to adoption. (Stanley vs. Illinois; 1972). (f) Rights of both unwed and husbands rights in a woman's decision to have an abortion. (Roe v. Wade; Doe v. Bolton; Doe v. Doe). (g) Employment opportunities. Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits discrimination based on race, color, religion, national origin, and sex.[60] Similarly, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission states--"It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to make available benefits for the wives and families of male employees where the same benefits are not made available for the husbands and families of female employees."[61] Affirmative action programs mandated and funded by the federal government to recruit a certain percentage of woman employees into a business or organization may actually discriminate against men! The final outcome of the DeFunis case in which the plantiff claimed reverse discrimination based on race, will have a future impact on the plight of men who claim reverse discrimination on the basis of sex. (h) Sex role stereotypes which affect rape laws. Statutory rape is applicable only if an adult male has intercourse with a female minor. By definition, if the adult is female and the minor male, charges of statutory rape would not be possible. Yet with women becoming more aggressive in initiating sex, it seems that they should be given an equally severe sentence when they tempt a minor to engage in intercourse. It can no longer be assumed that men are always the sexual initiators. The question of rape in

[59] Ibid., p. 306. / [60] Ibid., p. 308. / [61] Ibid., p. 311.

marriage is now being discussed in Portland, Oregon as a result of Greta Rideout's charge of rape against her husband. Although Oregon's statute states that a wife can be raped by her husband, it does not allow a husband to charge rape against his wife. Thus, the defense will challenge the law "as violation of equal protection because it applies only to men."[62] Considering the cases cited above, many of which are still in the process of being resolved by the courts, one thing is clear-the laws have not been able to keep up with rapidly changing attitudes concerning the roles of men and women.

CONCLUSION

This paper covered some of the masculine effects of women's new role affecting men's professional and family roles; relations with other men; styles of parenting; ability to express emotions; responses to the women's movement; and legal rights. Perhaps a relevant question to ask is what will men be like in the future? In light of research presented in this paper, men are likely to consider their competence in nurturing children, and ability to assist with household tasks as compatible with an image of masculinity. Husbands and fathers are likely to take pride in cooking, child care, and housework. (However, the ultimate responsibility for these tasks will still be the womans). Male participation in these areas will have a positive impact on the attitudes which the next generation develops toward role sharing in marriage and will affect the future definition of "masculinity."

The blurring of sex differences through men and women wearing more similar clothing and hair styles is another trend which is likely to continue in the future. Modern dances in which neither partner leads, jeans and pants worn by both men and women, and shoulder bags which closely resemble purses, are all indications that men are becoming more human and have less of a need to exemplify the "macho" image by wearing black leather jackets, tattoos, or tight fitting pants, as was the style in the 1950's. Men and women will continue struggling to prepare for professions which their own sex has had difficulty entering. Although the definition of masculinity is likely to expand and change to some extent, such change will be confined to boundaries established by the social and cultural context in which we live. One example of a boundary that has broadened is the implementation of flex time in private industry in the United States. This program attempts to better serve personal needs of employees by allowing them to work each day within a range of hours, rather than a routine nine to five shift every day. For example, employees can work an early shift from seven A.M. to three P.M. or a late shift from eleven A.M. to seven P.M. The benefits of this system to families is that it provides a wider range of opportunities for interaction between parents and children. A father who is not due at work until eleven A.M., can get the children ready for school so that the mother can leave early and be home at three P.M. when the children return.

Masculinity will continue to be influenced by the media, particularly television. Today, T.V. shows men in more sensitive, warm, and expressive roles than previously, (i.e., the Odd Couple in which Oscar and Felix demonstrate much love and affection toward each other in an intimate and personal manner). Nevertheless, T.V. also shows men in the traditional roles of fighting, winning, seducing women, and climbing the career ladder. This image of men reinforces the traditional male sex role and deters men from changing.

Many issues raised in this paper require further study and will only be resolved with input from government through development of legislation. For example, how can women be actively recruited into the job market without the occurrence of reverse discrimination? How involved should government become in regulating the relationships between men and women? Is endorsement of the equal rights ammendment the answer?--Or should the United States eliminate all classifications of sex to the extent that Sweden has, in order to minimize sex differences and discrimination? Are the personal and emotional adjustments such as frustration insecurity, unclear expectations, role confusion, etc., which will be caused by changes in sex role patterns, worth the effort? Do the benefits outweigh the sacrifices involved? Or is the family already under more strain and pressure than it can cope with? Such policy questions are not likely to be resolved in the near future. However, if a broader range of options are to be available to men and women, government must clearly, play a role.

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